

The Philanthropist.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, EDITOR.

We are verily guilty concerning our brother *** therefore, is this distress come upon us.

A. PUGH, PRINTER.

VOLUME 1.

NUMBER 6.

THE PHILANTHROPIST
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT
CINCINNATI, OHIO.
BY THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
(Publishing Room, corner of Seventh and Main Sts.)

Terms.

Two Dollars per annum, always payable in ADVANCE.
Letters and Communications in business of the Office
should be directed to AUGUSTUS WATTS. Those
relating to the Editorial Department to the Editor of the
Philanthropist. In all cases post-paid.

Names of Counties should be particularly mentioned in
giving directions for sending the paper.

An Advertisement making one square or less, will be
inserted three times for one dollar.

Slavery.

From Essays on the Principles of Morality—by the late
Jonathan Dymond, [of the Society of Friends.]

At a future day, it will probably become a subject of
wonder, how it could have happened that upon such a subject
as slavery, men could have inquired and examined and
debated, year after year; and that many years actually
passed before the minds of a nation were so fully convinced
of its enormity, and of their consequent duty to
abolish it, as to suppress it to the utmost of their power.
I say this will probably be subject of wonder, because
the question is so simple that he who simply applies the
requirements of the moral law, finds no time for reasoning
or doubt. The question, as soon as it is proposed, is de-
cided. How then, it will be asked in future days, could a
Christian legislature argue and contend, and contend and
argue again; and allow an age to pass without deciding?

The cause is, that men do not agree as to the rule of
decision—as to the test by which the question should be
examined. One talk of the rights to property—one of the
interests of merchants—one of safety—one of policy:
all which are valid and proper considerations; but they
are not the primary consideration. The first question is,
Is slavery right? Is it consistent with the moral law?
This question is in practice postponed to others, even by
some who theoretically acknowledge its primary claim;
and when to the indistinct principles, if there is added
the want of principle in others, it is easy to account for
the delay and opposition with which the advocates of sim-
ple rectitude are met.

To him who examines slavery by the standard to which
all questions of human duty should be referred, the task
of deciding, we say, is short. Whether it is consistent
with the Christian law for one man to keep another in
bondage without his consent, and to compel him to labor for
that other's advantage, admits of no more doubt than
whether two and two make four. It were humiliating,
then, to set about the *proof* that the slave system is incom-
patible with Christianity; because no man questions its
incompatibility with Christianity; because no man questions its
incompatibility with what Christianity is, and what it
requires. Unhappily, some who can estimate, with toler-
able precision, the duties of morality upon other sub-
jects, contemplate this through a veil—a veil which habit
has suspended before them, and which is dense enough to
intercept the moral features of slavery as they are presented
to others who examine it without an intervening medi-
um, and with no other light than the light of truth. To
these, the best counsel that we can offer is to *simplify* their
reasonings—to recur to first principles; and first principles
are few. Look, then, at the foundation of all the relative
duties of man—Benevolence—Love—that love and
benevolence which is the fulfilling of the moral law—that
“charity” which prompts to actions of kindness, and
tenderness, and fellow-feeling for all men. Does he who seizes
a person in Guinea, and drags him shrieking to a vessel,
practice this benevolence? When three or four hundreds
have been thus seized, does he who chains them together
in a suffocating hold, practice this benevolence? When they
have reached another shore, does he who gives money to
the first for his victims—keeps them as his property—and
compels them to labor for his profit, practice this benevo-
lence? Would either of these persons think, if their rel-
ative situations were exchanged with the African's, that
the Africans used them kindly and justly? No. Then
the question is decided: Christianity condemns the sys-
tem; and no further inquiry about rectitude remains.
The question is as distinctly settled as when a man com-
mits a burglary, it is distinctly certain that he has violated
the law.

But of the flagitiousness of the system in the view of
Christianity, its defenders are themselves aware—for they
tell us, if not with decency, at least with openness, that
Christianity must be excluded from the inquiry. What
does this exclusion imply? Obviously, that the advocates
of slavery are *conscious* that Christianity condemns it.
They take her away from the judgment-seat, because they
know she will pronounce a verdict against them. Does the
reader desire more than this? Here is the evidence, both
of enemies and of friends, that the moral law of God con-
demns the slave system. If, therefore, we are Christians,
the question is not merely decided, but *confessedly* decid-
ed: and what more do we ask?

It is, to-be-sure, a curious thing, that they who affirm
that they are Christians, will not have their conduct ex-
amined by the Christian law; and while they baptize their
children, and kneel at the communion-table, tell us that
one of the greatest questions of practical morality,
our religion has no concern.

Two reasons induce the writer to confine himself, upon
this subject, to little more than the exhibition of funda-
mental principles; first, that the details of the slavery question
are already laid, in unnumbered publications, before the
public; and secondly, that he does not think it will long
remain, at least in this country, a subject for discussion.
That the system will, so far as the British government is
concerned, at no distant period be abolished, appears
nearly certain; and he is unwilling to fill the pages of a
book of general morality with discussions which, ere many
years have passed, may possess no relevance to the affairs
of the Christian world.

Yet one remark is offered as to a subordinate means of
estimating the goodness or badness of a cause—that which
consists in referring to the principles upon which each
party reasons, to the general spirit, to the tone and temper
of the disputants. Now I am free to confess, that if I had
never heard an argument against slavery, I should find, in
the writings of its defenders, satisfactory evidence that
their cause is bad. So true is this, that if at any time I
needed peculiarly to impress myself with the flagitiousness
of the system, I should take up the book of a determined
advocate. There I find the most unequivocal of all testi-
monies against it—that which is unwillingly furnished by its
advocates. There I find, first, that the fundamental prin-
ciples of morality are given to the winds; that the proper
foundation of the reasoning is rejected and ridiculed.—
There I find that the temper and dispositions which are
wont to influence the advocate of a good cause, are scarce-
ly to be found; and that those which usually characterize
a bad one, continually appear: and therefore, even setting
aside inaccurate statements and fallacious reasonings, I am
assured, from the general character of the defence, and
conduct of the defenders, that the system is radically evi-
dently and bad.

The distinctions which are made between the original
robbery in Africa, and the purchase, the inheritance, or the
“breeding” of slaves in the colonies, do not at all respect
the kind of immorality that attaches to the whole system.
They respect nothing but the *degree*. The man who

wounds and robs another on the highway, is a more atrocious offender, than he who plunders a hen-roost; but he
is not more *truly* an offender, he is not more *certainly* a
violation of the law. And so with the slave system. He
who drags a wretched man from his family in Africa, is
a more flagitious transgressor than he who merely compels
the African to labor for his own advantage; but the trans-
gression, the immorality, is as real and certain in one case
as in the other. He who had no right to steal the African
can have none to sell him. From him who is known to
have no right to sell, another can have no right to buy or
to possess. Sale, or gift, or legacy, imparts no right to me,
because the seller, or giver, or bequeather had none himself.
The sufferer has just as valid a claim to liberty at his
home, as at the hands of the ruffian who first dragged him
from his home. Every hour of every day, the present pos-
sessor is guilty of injustice. Nor is the case altered with
respect to those who are born on a man's estate. The par-
ents were never the landholder's property, and therefore
the child is not. Nay, if the parents had been rightfully
slaves, it would not justify me in making slaves of their
children. No man has a right to make a child a slave, but
himself. What are our sentiments upon kindred subjects?
What do we think of the justice of the Persian system, by
which, when a state offender is put to death, his brothers
and his children are killed or mutilated, too? Or, to come
nearer to the point, as well as nearer home, what should
we say of a law which enacted that of every criminal who
was sentenced to labor for life, all the children should be
sentenced so to labor also? And yet if there is any com-
parison of reasonableness, it seems to be in one respect in
favor of the culprit. *He is condemned to slavery for his
crimes: the African, for another man's profit.*

That any human being, who has not forfeited his liberty
by his crimes, has a right to be free—and that whosoever
forcibly withholds liberty from an innocent man, robs him
of his right, and violates the moral law, are truths which
no man would dispute or doubt, if custom had not ob-
scured our perceptions, or if wickedness did not prompt us
to close our eyes.

The whole system is essentially and radically bad: injus-
tice and oppression are its fundamental principles. What-
ever lenity may be requisite in speaking of the agent, none
should be shown, none should be expressed for the act.
I do not affirm or imagine that every slaveholder is *therew-
fore* a wicked man; but if he is not, it is only upon the score of
ignorance. If he is exempt from the guilt of violating
the moral law, it is only because he does not perceive what
it requires. Let us leave the *deserts* of the individual to
Him who knoweth the heart: of his actions we may speak;
and we should speak in the language of reprobation, dis-
gust, and abhorrence.

Although it could be shown that the slave system is ex-
pedient, it would not affect the question whether it ought
to be maintained: yet it is remarkable, that it is shown to
be impolitic as well as bad. We are not violating the
moral law, because it fills our pockets. We injure our-
selves by our own transgressions. The slave system is a
costly iniquity, both to the nation and to individual men.
It is a matter of great satisfaction, that this is known and
proved: and yet it is just what, antecedently to inquiry,
we should have reason to expect. The truth furnishes us
addition to the many evidences, that even with respect to
temporal affairs, that which is right is commonly politic;
and it ought therefore to furnish additional inducements
to a fearless conformity of conduct, private and public, to
the moral law.

It is quite evident that our slave system will be abol-
ished, and that its supporters will hereafter be regarded with
the same public feelings, as he who was an advocate of
the slave-trade is now. How is it that legislators, or that
the public, are so indifferent to their fate? Who would
now be willing that biography should record of him
This man defended the slave-trade? The time will come
when the record—*This man opposed the abolition of slaves*—
will occasion a great deduction from the public
estimate of worth of character. When both these atro-
cities are abolished, and but for the page of history for-
gotten, that page will make a wide difference between
those who aided the abolition and those who obstructed it.
The one will be ranked among the Howards that are
departed, and the other among those who, in ignorance or
in guilt, have employed their little day in inflicting misery
upon mankind.

African Mind.

We make no apology for treating our readers
to the following rich article on the equality of
the races. It is taken from a work entitled
“America,” by the author of “Europe.”

The example of Hayti has been, upon the
whole, of a nature to encourage the friends of
humanity, with regard to the capacity of the
black race, for self-government and the arts and
habits of civilized life. There are no facts, so
far at least as I am acquainted with the subject,
which authorize the conclusion, that any one of
the several varieties of our race, is either intel-
lectually or morally inferior or superior to the
rest; and there are certainly enough that attest
the contrary. Each great division of the species
has had in its turn, the advantage in civilization,
that is, in industry, wealth, and knowledge, and
the power they confer. And during this period
of conscious triumph, each has doubtless been
inclined to regard itself as a favored race, en-
dowed by nature and Providence with an essential
superiority over all the others. But, on re-
viewing the course of history, we find this
accidental difference disappearing after awhile,
and the sceptre of civilization passing from the
hands of the supposed superior race, into those of
some other before inferior, which claims in its
turn, for awhile, a similar distinction. As re-
spects the immediate question, it would seem,
from even a slight examination, that the blacks
(whether of African or Asiatic origin) have not
only a fair right to be considered as naturally
equal to men of any other color, but are even
without some plausible pretensions to a claim
of superiority. At the present day, they are
doubtless, as far as we have any knowledge of
them, much inferior to the whites, and have
been so for several centuries. But at more than
one preceding period, they have been for a
length of time, at the head of civilization and
political power, and must be regarded as the
real authors of most of the arts and sciences
which give us at present the advantage over
them. While Greece and Rome were yet bar-
barous, we find the light of learning and
improvement emanating from this, by supposition,
degraded and accursed continent of Africa, out of
the very midst of this woolly-haired, flat-nosed,
thick-lipped, coal-black race, which some per-
sons are tempted to station at a pretty low inter-
mediate point between men and monkeys. It is
to Egypt, if to any nation, that we must look as
the real *antiqua mater* of the ancient and modern
refinement of Europe. The colonies that civil-
ized Greece, the founders of Argos, Athens,
Delphi, &c. came from Egypt, and for centuries
afterwards, their descendants constantly returned
to Egypt as the source and centre of civiliza-
tion and law.

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robbery in Africa, and the purchase, the inheritance, or the
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the kind of immorality that attaches to the whole system.
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was sentenced to labor for life, all the children should be
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parison of reasonableness, it seems to be in one respect in
favor of the culprit. *He is condemned to slavery for his
crimes: the African, for another man's profit.*

The great lawgiver of the Jews was prepared
for his divine mission, by a course of instruction
in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. But Egypt,
as we know from Herodotus, who travelled there,
was peopled at that time by a black race, with
woolly hair; and the historian adds, in the same
passage, that these physical qualities were also
proper to so many other nations, that they hardly
formed a distinction. It appears, in fact, that
the whole south of Asia, and north of Africa
were then possessed by a number of powerful,
polished, and civilized communities of kindred
origin, differing among themselves in some of
their outward conformation, but all black. Ethiopia,
a country of which the history is almost entirely
shrouded in the mists of ages, and of which we
know little or nothing, except that it must have
been in its day, a seat of high civilization and
great power—probably the fountain of the
improvement of Egypt and Western Asia,
was inhabited by blacks. It then comprehended
the country on both sides of the Red Sea,
whence the Ethiopians are said, by Homer, to
be divided into two parts.

The great Assyrian empires of Babylon and
Nineveh, hardly less illustrious than Egypt, in
arts and arms, were founded by Ethiopian colo-
nies, and peopled by blacks. Hence it was
doubtful at a time when the historical traditions
of these countries had become a little obscure,
whether the famous black Prince Memnon, who
served among the auxiliaries on the side of Troy
at the siege of that city by the Greeks, was a native
of Babylon, or Ethiopia proper, and he was
claimed as a citizen in both these places. Strabo
tells us that the whole of Assyria south of Mount
Taurus (including, besides Babylon and Nine-
veh—Phoenicia, Tyre and all Arabia,) was in-
habited by blacks; but there seems to have been
some mixture of whites amongst them, for the
Jews fall within this region, and the Arabs of
the present day, although dark, can hardly be
called black.

These, like the Medes and Persians, who
were also white, were probably colonies of the
white Syrians, described by the same author, as
dwelling beyond Mount Taurus, which had emigrated
to the south. But Palestine or Canaan, before its
conquest by the Jews, is represented in scripture,
as well as other histories, as peopled by blacks;
and hence it follows, that Tyre and her colony Carthage, the most industrious,
wealthy, and polished states of their time, were
of this color. In these swarthy regions, were
first promulgated the three religions which have
exercised the strongest influence on the fortunes
of the world; two of which we receive as divine
revelations; and as far as human agency
was concerned in it, we must look to Egypt as
the original fountain of our faith, which, though
developed and completed in the New Testament,
is based on the basis of the Old.

This consideration alone, should suffice with
christians, to rescue the black race and the continent
they inhabit, from any suspicion of inferiority.
It appears, in short, that this race, from the
period immediately following the deluge, down
to the conquest of Assyria and Egypt by the
Persians, and the fall of Carthage, enjoyed a
reputation of worth of character. When both these atro-
cities are abolished, and but for the page of history for-
gotten, that page will make a wide difference between
those who aided the abolition and those who obstructed it.
The one will be ranked among the Howards that are
departed, and the other among those who, in ignorance or
in guilt, have employed their little day in inflicting misery
upon mankind.

It is true, that after thus leading the march of
civilization for about 2000 years in succession,
maturing the profound and solid wisdom of
Egypt, founding the splendid and transitory fab-
ric of Greek refinement, and assisting in the
first communication of our holy faith; after inventing
and carrying to a high degree of perfection,
almost all the arts and sciences of which we
are now so proud; after covering the banks of
the Ganges, the Euphrates and the Nile, with
miracles of power and skill, which not only have
never been surpassed or equalled, but of which
at present we can hardly conceive the possi-
bility; after modelling their civil and political institutions
with such a masterly insight into hu-
man nature as to fix, through them, probably
forever, the stamp of their peculiar genius on
the social organization of the world; after affecting
all this, it is true they began to fall before the
rising greatness of their own accomplished and
vigorous pupils, and have been * * * declin-
ing ever since, until at last they sunk below
the level of the whites, where they have re-
mained, as far as we have any knowledge of
their condition, for several centuries past. This
inferiority is likely enough to continue, and it is
perhaps as improbable (though not more so) that
the black race will ever revive the wonders of
Egypt and Babylon, as that Greece will rear Ex-
amionidas again, or the bees of Hymitus clus-
tre in our time on the infant lips of another
Plato. Nations and races, like individuals have
their day, and seldom have a second. The
blacks had a long and glorious one; and after
what they have been and done, it argues not so
much a mistaken theory, as sheer ignorance of
the most notorious historical facts, to pretend
that they are naturally inferior to the whites. It
would seem, indeed, as I have hinted before,
that if any race have a right to claim a sort of
preeminence over others, on the fair and honorable
ground of talents displayed and benefits con-
ferred, it is precisely this very one which we
take upon us, in the pride of a temporary super-
iority, to stamp with the brand of essential
degradation. It is hardly necessary to add, that
while the blacks were the leading race in civiliza-
tion and political power, there was no prejudice
among the whites against their color. We
find, on the contrary, that the early Greeks re-
garded them as a superior variety of their spe-
cies, not only in intellectual and moral qualities,
but in outward appearance. “The Ethiopians,”
says Herodotus, “surpass all other men in long-
evity, stature and personal beauty.” The high
estimation in which they were held, for wisdom
and virtue, is strikingly shown by the mytholog-
ical fable current among the ancient Greeks,
and repeatedly alluded to by Homer, which re-
presented the Gods as going annually in a body
to make a long visit to the Ethiopians. Their
absence upon this excursion is the reason given
by Thetis to her son Achilles, in the first book of
the Iliad, for not laying his complaints at once
before the highest authority. “Jupiter,” she
tells him, “set off yesterday, attended by all the
Gods, on a journey towards the ocean, to feast
with the excellent Ethiopians, and is not ex-
pected back at Olympus, till the twelfth day.”

These effects produced on the negroes, by the
contentions among the French residents, the
proceedings of the mulattoes, and the exertions
of the *Amis des Noirs*, were such as might have
been easily foreseen. And when they learnt
from Ogee and his assistants, that steps were
taken to effect their speedy emancipation; and
were urged, by motives which few in their cir-
cumstances could have resisted, to exert them-
selves in their own behalf—receiving at the
same time promises of assistance and support;
nothing was more natural than their determina-
tion to escape from the yoke under which they
groaned, and to assert their right to liberty and
independence.

trial. Having one of their own race at the head of affairs, trained by long service to military exercises, in possession of the instruments of war, and having nothing to oppose them but the broken remains of the French forces; how easily might they have shaken off all connexion with the mother-country, have asserted their complete independence, and destroyed those who should oppose them! There was no obstacle to their avenging themselves on their former oppressors, either by expelling them from the Island, or by cutting them off; nor to their abandoning the plantations to the ruin which the late war, with the preceding ravages, had already commenced.

These considerations readily presented themselves to the minds of the remaining planters; nor could they help entertaining a serious concern for their own safety, and for the peace and tranquility of the colony. But the event showed that their fears were altogether destitute of foundation. The administration of Toussaint, for its ability, mildness, and integrity, they acknowledged, was beyond all praise. Considering the interests of France alone, the colony had never been in a more prosperous condition.—The negroes gave every proof of industry, subordination and content. They diligently cultivated the plantations, and received the wages of their labor. They submitted cheerfully to all those regulations which it was thought necessary to establish; and, living in possession of their freedom, were satisfied and happy. Those whose merits had raised them to stations of honor and responsibility, were as solicitous for the re-establishment of the French interests, as for the preservation of their own freedom. In short, the colony had seldom been more productive, the revenue which it afforded to the mother-country more abundant, the persons and property of the planters more secure, nor the negroes themselves more industrious and peaceful.

During the short interval of peace between England and France in 1802, an expedition was fitted out by the government of the latter country, and sent to St. Domingo. Its professed design was to subdue those in the colony who, they would have it thought, were inimical to the authority of the mother-country; its real object was to reduce the negroes to slavery a second time. For this purpose, an army whose valor had been previously tried in Europe, was transported across the Atlantic, under the command of one of their most popular generals, (Le Clerc.) It was further intended that the negroes should be scattered over different parts of the colony, so as to prevent their collecting together in large bodies; and other arrangements having been made, slavery was to be again proclaimed.—That the injustice of this attempt, nothing can be more glaring. Independent of the natural right of the negroes to liberty, their freedom had been declared by the French Commissioners, and recognized and confirmed by the French government. That government now attempted to enslave them again. Could it be for a moment expected, that they would stand still, and allow these designs to be carried into execution, without making any resistance? They had felt the rigors of slavery, and had endured them too long to allow them ever to be forgotten. They were now in possession of their freedom, and were not to be suddenly deprived of it, without making one effort in its defense.

Happily for the cause of liberty, before the French could make the necessary arrangements, the negro leaders, who from the first, suspected their designs, discovered the real object of the expedition. Enraged at the injustice of those in whose honor they had hitherto placed the utmost confidence, they instantly flew to arms; and the negro soldiers with the cultivators, were once more compelled to unite in defending their rights, against the designs of men who had acknowledged their freedom, and solemnly sworn to be its protectors. The French, finding that nothing could be effected by stratagem, and that the plans on which they had confidently relied for success were defeated, now determined to subdue and enslave the objects of their oppression, by force of arms; feeling assured that the negroes, though their superiors in number, could not long withstand the skill and bravery of their own troops.

Disappointed in this expectation also, and regarding the blacks as a species of brutes, they had immediate recourse to such methods of cruelty and death, as would be selected only for the purpose of exterminating a dangerous and destructive race of animals—to barbarities worse than had ever before stained the annals of any people, pretending to the character of civilization. All the male negroes and mulattoes they could lay their hands on, were murdered in the most shocking manner. Five hundred of these unfortunate beings were at one time shot near Cape Francois; and an equal number were, on another occasion, coolly massacred in view of the negro army. Thousands were carried on board the vessels in the harbor, and were either suffocated in the holds, or thrown overboard in chains and drowned. Even these methods failed to accomplish the horrid purposes of these blood-thirsty tyrants; till at length they had recourse to the dreadful expedient, of hunting and destroying the unhappy victims of their rage by blood-hounds. These animals, pursuing the negroes to the parts of the mountains inaccessible to their less bloody employers, easily gained their retreats, and devoured all who were so unfortunate as to be discovered. Such of the black prisoners as had evinced the greatest zeal and activity in defense of liberty, were selected from the rest; and on Sundays, were dragged to spot chosen for the purpose, and in sight of thousands of spectators, were thrown to these terrible animals, and torn to pieces. In short, the attempt was founded in injustice, commenced by treachery, and conducted in a manner the most inhuman and barbarous.

But it will be remembered that they were, in the first place, compelled to take up arms in their defense, by the unjust designs of the French; and were then urged, by their subsequent barbarities, to avail themselves of every occasion and mode of retaliation. They fought for liberty; and if they found that the only way to secure it was through blood, it was an alternative to which their enemies had reduced them. Nor will those who have paid attention to the circumstances of the war, hesitate to consider the French as chiefly chargeable with the horrors, cruelties, and massacres, of this sanguinary contest.

After a doubtful and desperate struggle, success crowned the exertions of the Haytians. They expelled their foes, secured their rights, and took possession of the Island, which their toils and sufferings had purchased.

Original revolt in Hayti commenced 23d August 1791

British forces entered the Island 19th Sept. 1793

Independence of Hayti first proclaimed 1st July 1801

Expedition under command of Le Clerc sailed 14 Dec.

French finally expelled from the Island 2nd Dec. 1803

Independence of Hayti again proclaimed 1st Jan. 1804

Death of Dessalines 8th Oct. 1806

Christophe proclaimed President of Hayti 17th Feb. 1807

Christophe crowned King of Hayti 2nd June 1811

Death of Christophe Oct 1820

From the *Sandusky Clarion*.

MR. EDITOR.—I read in the last number of the Clarion, a few editorial remarks upon the abolition debate in Congress, animadverting upon the dictatorial language and sentiments of the southern members and the sycophancy of northern statesmen whenever the rights and interests of the south

came under discussion. I was pleased with your remarks, for they conveyed a sentiment which I wish was more strongly impressed upon the northern mind—and one too which it is high time should be universally entertained and practised upon, not only by our statesmen, but by the whole mass of the people. I am strenuously opposed to arraying the north and south against each other and drawing a line of separation between them which shall be the boundary of their friendship and fellow-feeling; but I am equally opposed to that haughty and domineering course which the south has uniformly pursued, whenever southern policy and feeling has come in collision with the policy and sentiment of the north, and northern statesmen have encouraged it by their unmanly servility and conceit and sickish commendation of the "honor, patriots, and CHIVALRY of the high-minded south."

and will take the trouble to examine the *Journal of the Senate*, he will see that the whole tone of the speeches of Congress, and every sensible American ought to be, at the

beginning of the Revolution, domestic slavery was not uncommon in the large towns in Massachusetts;

and, as late as the year 1774, the public papers

contained notices of black slaves for sale.

the slave trade had indeed been long discontinued

and forbidden, even from a very early period,

(1645); though both Gov. Bernard, in 1765, and Gov.

Hutchinson, in 1773, were instructed to give a negative to bills to suppress it, passed by the House of

Assembly of Massachusetts. The judicial courts

were opposed to it. In 1770, when an African was

brought into the province by a British vessel, as a slave, he was urged to sue for his freedom; and the court ordered him to be set at liberty. The case was

decided by reference (as a precedent) to the principles then recognized in England, that whenever a

slave put his foot on its territory, he became free.

From *Zion's Watchman*.

Our Peculiarities.

MR. EDITOR.—My attention was called by an article in your paper over the signature of *Brutus*, to the columns of the *Westminster Review*. I find, from a reference to the No. of that work, to which your correspondent refers, that he has not by any means quoted the most bitter of the reviewer's remarks. As your columns are professedly open to all parties, I take the liberty to make a few more extracts from that work, to which you will append, if you will permit, a few observations of my own. He is reviewing "A Journal of a residence and Tour in the United States of America, from April 1833 to October 1835, by E. S. Abdy, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge."

After a few introductory remarks, in which he calls the author "a philosophic traveller with a mind well stored and a ripe judgment," he says:—"Slavery is so utterly abhorrent to every respectable individual in this country, that it would be a waste of argument to reason against its continuance; while those who have profited by it, like others who have been guilty of nefarious practices, are beyond the pale of reason on the subject." "Some slaves do meet with indulgent masters. But the greater their elevation above their fellows, the greater is the risk of losing by change. The master's honor is no sufficient guarantee against a slave being brought to market. And slaves are daily advertised for sale, for payment of taxes and other small debts, as they form the most available and saleable sort of property." "It is not uncommon for churches to hold property in slaves. Gangs of them are bequeathed to religious societies for 'pious uses.' The proceeds of their labor are appropriated to the repairs of the building, and other expenses connected with the congregation, in the advertisements of slaves for sale, it is no uncommon recommendation to say that there are several 'pious' servants among them. On the one hand, the whites deny the claim of the blacks to be ranked among human beings; on the other, an increasing cloud of witnesses arises in their brown progeny, to belie their excuse. They live more and have their being in a false predicament. The master of the mother has the burden and the profit. Profligacy reigns triumphant and unreproved. And they who are called the ministers of religion, are guilty of their full proportion of the social crime." "The tearing assunder family ties, the banishment, the mart, the jealous confinement and surveillance of new masters, the whole horrors

* Some time since, Harper & Brothers advertised the republishing of Mr. Abdy's book in this country, but instead of the book, published the following letter to the editor of the *Columbia* (S. C.) *Telecope*:

NEW YORK, Dec. 31, 1835.

Editor of the *Columbia Telecope*:

SIR.—We noticed in your paper of the 13th, inst. some remarks upon a book published by us (Iced & Matheson's *Narrative*), in which you give us a word of caution respecting the publication of books, containing offensive sentiments or statements on the subject of slavery.

Feeling confident that your remarks, so far as they relate personally to us, were intended in a friendly spirit, we give you our thanks for them, and beg leave to assure you that nothing can be farther from our wishes or intentions, that any lending of our Press, to the dissemination of doctrines obnoxious, in this point of view, to censure. Of course, as you must be aware, we cannot read or even procure to be read, all the books we publish; we are careful to do so when we have reason to suspect anything improper; but in many instances we are obliged to rely on the reputation, literary and personal, of the authors. In the case of *Reed and Matheson's Narrative*, we were applied to by those gentlemen to publish their work, and we ascertained that they were highly esteemed, as gentlemen and Christians; their work, therefore, was not examined, and indeed, at that time the subject of abolition had not become the occasion of so much excitement, as it has since unshapely caused. We had no suspicion of it whatever.

To convince you that we have no desire to make our publications a medium of "incestary circulation," we will merely state that we have in several instances at once declined having anything to do with works, both of foreign and domestic origin, which have been offered to us, on finding that they were in this respect objectionable, although we have every reason to believe, that on other accounts, they would sell extensively.

You have no doubt heard of Mr. Abdy's book, which was represented to us as very ably written, and likely to be profitable; but we were told also, that Mr. Abdy was an abolitionist, and we would have nothing to do with him.

We are very respecting,

Your obedient servants,

HARPER & BROTHERS.

On one account an apology was needed for the publication of *Reed and Matheson's Narrative*, not, however, on account of what is said in it about slavery, but for the misrepresentations which are given in it of the M. E. Church—misrepresentations most palpable and inexcusable, in such men as Drs. Reed and Matheson.

But what can be more base than this? An apology for publishing *Reed & Matheson's Narrative*? And then, what an apology! It was all done by mistake—a pure oversight! Their business is so extensive, they "cannot read, or even procure to be read, all the books they publish," though they are careful to do so when they have reason to suspect anything "improper." It is very improper indeed, and very harmless, to poison the morals of the community by the publication of trashy novels, by the obscenities of Fielding and Ovid—quite proper to make a thrust at liberty, by the publication of unblushing defences of slavery; but to publish ought against slavery—O, no—they would not do that for the world. "Nothing could be farther from their wishes or intentions, than any lending of their press to the dissemination of doctrines obnoxious to slave-masters. Indeed they have already evinced the sincerity of their wishes and intentions in the case, for "they have, in several instances, at once declined having anything to do with works that were in this respect objectionable." Even "Mr. Abdy's book," though "ably written, and like to be profitable," was condemned because he "was an abolitionist." And more than all, they might have added, we intend soon to make our love of slavery, and our crouching servility to your lords, still more manifest, by the publication of Mr. Paulding's book, in which you will find a most beautiful attempt to justify slavery, and prove, beyond dispute, that slave-holders "are honorable men—all honorable men."

of the slave-trade are brought into active operation in the heart of the United States, whose citizens the while expect to be treated with more reverence than the kindred barbarian of Ashantee."—*West. Rev.* N. 47, pp. 127, et seq. *Am. Ed.*

Now, Mr. Editor, I am utterly astonished, as you and every sensible American ought to be, at the strange blindness and infatuation of this writer.—Were he one of the common rabble, we might have no cause to expect anything better, but he seems to be a well educated man, he writes a bold, energetic style, and seems to be, at least, as well acquainted with the Southern sections of our country as some of our Northern religious and political editors. I do not call in question the *truth* of any of the facts he mentions. I have lived in the South, and believe them to be correctly stated. But what I do marvel at, is his extreme short-sightedness and dulness.—Verily the British nation (though my father was an Englishman) are remarkable for the *obtuseness* of their intellectual faculties. And yet they can reason well on other topics. Is it not marvellous that a nation which has had such reasoners as Bacon, and Newton, and Locke; a nation which has now such men as Brougham, and Bunting, and Chalmers, which boasts, and justly, of talent, and genius and intellect unequalled in any other country, is it not wonderful, I say, that they cannot comprehend the *peculiar difficulties* under which we labor with regard to slavery? That they cannot, is evident from the preceding extract, and also from the insulting remarks in the address of the British to the American Methodist Conference, on that subject. I hope our delegate will enlighten them a little.

I think it very likely they will. They won't alter the Bible though. And while Paul's Epistles stand as they are, I must be recreant to my duty, as a minister, not to pray for *ALL MEN*, (see 1 Tim. ii. 1.)—Now is it not strange, that you are willing I should only whisper Emancipation, or talk of the West Indies, our Southern brethren turn round upon us, and swear if we say another word they'll calculate the value of the Union! Dear me! I have no patience with this intermeddling of ignorant foreigners.

And yet I should like them to understand our difficulties, for it is painful for me, as an American, to have my native land so slandered and vilified by what I have been taught from my earliest infancy to regard as the foremost nation of all the earth.

But what troubles me most of all, is the conduct of our Methodist brethren in England. An Englishman told me the other day, that they disowned us, and would have no fellowship with us, as Wesleyan Methodists, until every one of us becomes heart and soul an abolitionist. How extremely liberal and unchristianlike! Is it possible they cannot be made to understand our *peculiarities*? Don't they know that if we of the North should become generally friendly to human rights, it would split the Methodist Episcopal Church in two? Horrible to think of! We should then, I suppose, have the Methodist Episcopal Free Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Slave-holding Society. Cannot our British brethren see that in the event of such a catastrophe, our boast that Methodism is one everywhere, would no longer be true, and I should loose some of my very best customers? It is really monstrous. I was trying to argue this matter with the Englishman above alluded to, a little while since. We had been talking of the difference between our Government and the British. He freely conceded our superiority, inasmuch as here the people govern; the people make their own laws. From this we got on the old topic Slavery; and I endeavored to make him understand our peculiarities. "Don't you see," said I, "that we cannot liberate our slaves. That however much our Southern brethren might be disposed to give them their liberty, it cannot be done. The laws forbid it."

"Ah!" said he, with a contemptuous sneer, "but who makes the laws?" And in this strange way they all seem to argue, not considering all the difficulties of the case, and the *peculiarities* under which we labor.

If you think, Mr. Editor, that by attaching my name to the preceding remarks, I run any risk of losing patronage among your friends, the Abolitionists, you will please to withhold it. I should be sorry to offend any body to the prejudice of my Profit and Loss account. HECTOR DOUGHFACE.

No.—Pearl street, New York.

From *Zion's Watchman*.

Are you an Abolitionist?

You have asked me that question a great many times; I am willing to answer it, or any other question, you may see proper to ask, touching my views, feelings, and sentiments. But first, you must explain your terms. What do you mean by an Abolitionist?

"Why, I mean that party, who go about striving to stir up the North against the South; to incite the slaves to insurrection, bloodshed and murder."

God forbid! I belong to no such party. Do you not know that I am an ambassador of the Prince of Peace; a messenger of glad-tidings; a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church: a —

"Yes, yes.—I know all that; and I know too, that grievous wolves, have, by some means, entered among us, not sparing the flock; in short, I know there are *Abolitionists* among our ministers; and I have heard, from several sources, that you are one." Well, I tell you, that is what you mean by an Abolitionist, whoever told you I was one, belied me, and is a slanderer.

"But are you not opposed to the Colonization Society?"

NO. If the Colonization Society, or any other Society, choose to pay the passage of any number of free blacks to Liberia, or of free whites to Liberia, and they are desirous to go, I have no possible objections. I don't trouble my head about it. I have something else to do.

"Well, but didn't you, only last Sunday, in our pulpit, pray for the slave, and for all whose lives were made bitter (I think you said) by cruel bondage?"

Yes, and if you will read your bible, you will find that I made use of nothing but scripture expressions, in complying with a positive scripture precept. St. Paul, you know, says remember those that are in bonds.

"I know that. But do you think it expedient to pray for the slave *publicly*?"

Why not? I am a public man, and in the order of Providence am called to lead the devotions of thousands. If I ought to pray for them at all, I ought to pray for them publicly; or else give up my parchments, and cease to be an ambassador of Christ. Besides, I always pray for the slave-holder too, and I am a slaveholder.

"Yes—that is what I object to. Slavery, you know, has been decided by our official paper, to be merely a *political* question. Politics ought never to be touched in the pulpit."

I should be sorry to deny the infallibility of the official organ of our church. Let us call it merely a political question; still it is my duty, to pray for the poor slave. I agree with you, that politics should not be touched in the pulpit; but must I, therefore, neglect praying for our country? Must I not pray for our rulers and magistrates, because you and the rest of the brethren, are not Jackson men? Must I not pray for the soldier, because brother M. believes all wars, defensive as well as offensive, to be wrong; and would sooner pay his fine than go to general training?

"All that is right enough; but wide, very wide of the question. I say it is not expedient, to pray publicly, as you do, for the slave."

Expedient! I do not know, precisely, what meaning you attach to that word. My wife, when I first gave up worldly business, and all thoughts of amassing wealth, in order to preach Christ crucified, thought it was *inexpedient*; but when she was convinced it was my duty, expediency had to bend. If I had been my energies to the acquisition of wealth, I might have been, perhaps, as rich as you are, in general training.

Accordingly Joshua Cotton and —— Saunders, were arraigned before the committee, and formally charged with inciting the negroes in Mississippi to insurrection, and aiding and abetting other white men in the same.

Friday 3d.—The committee convened at 9 o'clock, A. M., and continued the whole day in trying the two prisoners, Cotton and Saunders; who, in the course of the investigation, inculpated each other. The testimony and circumstances becoming stronger, many orders of arrest were issued, to the different squads of patrols, and the citizens urged to be vigilant.

Saturday 4th.—Cotton and Saunders convicted, and sentenced by the committee to be forthwith hanged. The populace immediately marched them to the old jail; and, fastening a rope to the grating of a window, in the upper story of the jail, and leaning a couple of rails against the wall, assisted the culprits upon the rails; then, adjusting the other end of the rope around their necks, removed the rails. They were left hanging until the next morning.

Previously to the execution of Joshua Cotton, he acknowledged his guilt, and the truth of the testimony by which he has been convicted: Averring, that he was a member of the piratical association of the notorious John A. Murrel. That he had attended several of their grand councils—the last having been held near Columbus, Mississippi.—That the plan had been conceived and plotted by Murrel; and that it embraced the slaveholding states generally. That a large number of desperate and unprincipled white men were engaged in the plan, and that they contemplated, if not the total destruction of the white population, at least the possession of most of their wealth. That he had been for two years, industriously occupied in spreading disaffection among the negroes, on every plantation he was acquainted with; and with few exceptions, there were some on every plantation, who were attached to the cause. That he, as well as all others of Murrel's clan, by particular instructions, were extremely cautious when they assailed among the negroes; least, by confounding in too many, they might betray the trust to imbeciles; and that, consequently, they only, with great address, attempted the most ambitious and religious. That some arms and ammunition were secreted for their purpose.—That the arrest of Murrel had postponed the commencement of hostilities from the 25th of last December, to the 25th of December next. But that the disclosure made by Virgil A. Stewart, had discomfited the white insurgents, and hastened the attempt to the 4th July: on which night, the whites were to be indiscriminately butchered [with the exception of a few chosen females;] the blacks to be headed and led on, at various places, by some white desperadoes already detailed. That they calculated, that their numbers would be increased, from various causes; by some through fear; by some through hope; and by others, through disaffection; and that, gathering like a whirlwind, they would, like a whirlwind, devastate the whole country.—Implicating Rual Blake, Dean, Donovan, Boyd, and many others, he warned the people to "beware of to-night and to-morrow night"—[the night of the 4th and 5th] and proposed, if longer time were allowed, to develop much more important information. But the committee, deeming it of infinitely more importance to check the impending storm, by immediately destroying two of the ring leaders and thereby creating dismay and panic among them, ordered their execution.

The committee adjourned until Monday morning, allowing time for the necessary arrests.

Sunday, July 5.—Parties of horsemen were hourly arriving with prisoners, and the guard-house, by Monday morning, was crowded with eighteen whites and several blacks. The alarm among the females was truly distressing, and the anxiety and excitement of the males was intense; for great apprehensions were entertained that an attack would be made and a rescue attempted.

Andrew Boyd who had been charged by Cotton, made a precipitate flight, on the 4th, (his arrest being ordered by the committee,) was pursued by James Dickson, Hiram Perkins, and Hiram Reynolds, with a pack of hounds trained for the purpose, from mid-day until night-fall, and from daylight the next morning until 9 o'clock A. M.; but he miraculously effected his escape by crossing Big Black river, getting into the cane breaks, and finally eluding the dogs and the rest of his pursuers, by mounting a horse that happened in his way. He had not been heard of, up to the 28th of July, when I took my departure from Madison county.

Monday 6th.—The committee convened and renewed their painful duties.

Gregory, an old man of 72 years of age, was sentenced to be flogged and banished perpetually from the state, to depart in 48 hours.

Ferry, 50 years of age, was also found guilty and sentenced like Gregory, but to receive 150 lashes.

Le Smith, next underwent his trial, and was sentenced to perpetual banishment from the state, to depart in 48 hours, and discharged. He was a citizen of Hinds county, and was on his departure from Lexington arrested by a party of his neighbors and Slicked, [or Lynch'd, which is synonymous.]—Several days after his discharge, the committee became possessed of evidence which deeply implicated him as a principal insurgent, and ordered him arrested wherever found. Although he had undergone one trial, and had been acquitted, nevertheless, agreeably to the principle of Slick's or Lynch's law, no man should escape punishment upon any condition, if guilty, at any time, or any place; fame, family and fortune, all qual before its powerful influence, 'tis the voice and will of the people, "vox populi vox dei."

The committee applied to the governor of the State for arms, and subsequently received a supply of muskets.

Rual Blake having fled from the neighborhood, and the committee having ordered his arrest, reward of five hundred dollars was made up by the citizens, and offered for his apprehension.

Dean and Donovan, the first a native of Connecticut, the latter of Kentucky, underwent their trial, which occupied part of the 6th and the whole of the 7th, and were, after the most deliberate investigation, sentenced to death, and were accordingly executed on Wednesday, the 8th, between the hours of 12 and 1 o'clock, M., denying to the last moment their guilt. I did not then hear of Donovan's writing a letter to his wife of Kentucky, and I believe it a mistake. A letter from his wife, to Donovan, was handed to the committee, which had been addressed to him long before his arrest, which upbraided him for his desperate mode of life, declaring she would never return to live with him until he altogether reformed.

The three Rawsons, who had been charged by Cotton as accessories to this plot, and who had a roster of the names of the whole of the insurgents, were this day arrested by Captain Hiram Perkins and Stanford Hodge, who commanded a party ordered into Hinds county for that purpose, and were rescued by Mr. Mat Sherkie.

July 7th.—Perkins and Hodge this day reported the rescue of the Rawsons, which excited the greatest indignation against Sherkie, and the suspicion of many that he was an accomplice. This gentleman had heretofore always borne the most reputable character, is wealthy, and his family connexions numerous and influential. A scrutiny of the motives which influenced him in the rescue of the Rawsons was loudly demanded, and determined upon. But the committee, for the present, reinforced Perkins' party, and ordered the recapture of the Rawsons at all hazards.

Perkins immediately repaired to the neighborhood of Sherkie and the Rawsons, and with less prudence than valor (not strictly regarding the instructions of the committee) attempted to arrest Sherkie, who partially apprised of Perkins' intention, resorted to an outhouse in the neighborhood of his dwelling, and preparing himself with fire arms, resolved to make a determined defence. At night, fire were kindled around this house, no lights admitted inside, Perkins with his party, having discovered the place of retreat, directed their course thither, and reaching the house, swore he would arrest Sherkie, who was preparing, shot Perkins in passing a window, (which proved mortal the next day.) The fire was instantly returned, by which Sherkie had his right hand dreadfully shattered. Repeating the fire, he wounded Mr. Hodge in the thigh, and by another shot wounded Mr. Reynold's horse, and narrowly missed him, cutting the collar of his coat; a brisk fire was kept up for some minutes, when Perkins' party retreated. Sherkie, then, with his family, evacuated the house, and the next day surrendered himself to the civil authority of Hinds county. An infant of Sherkie's fortunately escaped injury, being protected from the shot which passed into the house by bed clothes and pillows which he threw over it.

A committee which had been previously organized in Hinds county for the same purposes as that in Livingston, after maturely deliberating on the circumstances which had produced this unfortunate conflict, thoroughly acquitted Mr. Sherkie of all dis-honorable motives or intentions, as the following facts developed.

The Rawsons had lived in the neighborhood of Sherkie, and he had, from a long acquaintance, formed a favorable opinion of their honesty and integrity; and when they were arrested by the party headed by Perkins, a citizen of another county, and for whom he entertained an adverse opinion, and unacquainted with the peculiar circumstances which created the necessity of the arrest, his good feelings as a neighbor were elicited in their behalf, and he instantly resolved to protect, or perish with them.

Jas. Mitchell, the blacksmith, was examined, and was honorably acquitted, his services as a smith were held in requisition, which he promptly and cheerfully rendered.

Holden was also examined, acquitted, and discharged.

Hiram Hall, William Benson, Lansford Barnes, and Nicholas were found guilty in a less degree, and sentenced to banishment from the State in 48 hours.

Wednesday, 8th July.—The report of Rual Blake's arrest at Vicksburg reached Livingston at 11 A. M., together with the lamentable news of the death of Captain Perkins, and the fear of Blake's rescue.—Mr. Albert G. Bennett was immediately despatched with a party of 30 horsemen to conduct Blake to Livingston, whom he met under escort of a party from Vicksburg, and safely conducting him on, delivered him over to the committee, who, after a short examination, sentenced him to be hanged on the 10th inst., between the hours of three and four o'clock, P. M.

The report of the proceedings at Vicksburg were then confirmed, and were related as follows by several respectable persons:

In consideration of the alarming state of the neighborhood at and about Vicksburg, its citizens issued an ordinance that all gamblers and other suspicious persons of ill fame should forthwith quit the precincts of the town, or Slick's law would be administered to whomsoever refused. Five gamblers, North, Adams, McCall, Dutch Bill, and another, [name not recollect] vetoed the ordinance, and took themselves to a house, which they barricaded; and, armed with pistols and knives, prepared to defend themselves against any force which might be attempted by the citizens, which they anticipated by their preparations.

The citizens, apprised of their resolution, determined to enforce the ordinance, and after arresting to whip them from the town. The gamblers refusing to surrender, the citizens commenced to force the house, and in that attempt Dr. Bodley [a most valuable and highly respectable citizen who lived in the hearts of the community] was shot dead by one of the five gamblers.

The citizens, infuriated by the murder of their revered and enterprising comrade, returned the fire, which wounded one of the party, and rushing forward, overpowered and secured them, when, hurrying them to a convenient place of execution, without delay hanged the five. A party immediately went in pursuit of a number of gamblers, who had halted at the race ground, a few miles from the town, with the determination of hanging them likewise; but on arresting a part of them, the others effecting their escape, their lives were spared on condition of their quitting the country for ever, and being Slicked were discharged.

It appears, therefore, that these persons were not hanged on account of the profession, nor on account of their disobeying the ordinance of the citizens, but on account of their killing a worthy and favorite citizen; and by their own rashness involved upon themselves the wrath of an enraged populace.

Thursday, July 9th.—This day several men were discharged, after undergoing an examination before the committee, and others brought into the town, and delivered over to the guard for examination.

Friday, July 10th.—At 2 o'clock, P. M., Rual Blake was taken under guard to the Smith's shop, where his irons were knocked off. After washing his face and hands, and dressing himself neatly in a suit of white, he was conducted to the gallows, [a rude one, hastily erected by two forks sunk in the ground and a pole across,] in the centre of the town. He approached it with a steady and unflinching step. At length arriving at the foot of the gallows; and looking up, his soul seemed to tremble within the awful journey it was about to undertake and his eyes filled with tears. He struggled to recall his scattered senses, which at length returned to his relief.—He enquired for one or two persons, and having requested them to attend to some worldly concerns, shook hands and bid them adieu. Being asked by one of the committee if he desired to say anything publicly, he addressed the multitude in the following words:

"Gentlemen—I have but a few short moments to tarry among you, when I shall be hurried off, utterly unprepared for the journey, into the presence of the great and mighty God, shrouded with sins and imperfections; and if I was as innocent of all other sins, as I am of the charge for which I am now about to suffer, I would not, as I now do, fear the approach of death. And now, before man, (from whom I shall shortly escape,) and Almighty God, (into whose presence I must as shortly appear,) I do most solemnly deny the charge which has been alleged against me, and as solemnly do I invoke the wrath and imprecations of Heaven if I am not utterly and absolutely innocent. I do not blame the committee; I believe they have been influenced by the best motives for the benefit of the community. I think the evidence adduced to them was amply sufficient to warrant my condemnation. But I am less innocent on that account."

He called upon Mr. Hatch, a divine, who officiated in his professional capacity, then ascending the gallows with a firm step, seemed to throw back the folds of terror, and defy the shafts of death. The rope being adjusted round his neck, he was again asked if he had further to say; to which he replied: "No more except to protest my innocence. I bear malice towards no one. may God have mercy upon my soul! I am ready."

The individual, who was appointed to jerk the drop, failing to execute it, and Blake (whose face was, uncovered by request) observing the failure, sprang from the scaffold, launching his soul into that terrible abyss from whence no traveller returns.

Blake was a native of Connecticut; had resided in Madison county about six years, occupying as a cotton gin maker, wheelwright and carpenter, was remarkable for industry and perseverance, by which he had accumulated some property, vested in four or five negroes, (whom he directed to be emancipated after his debts were paid,) assumed an honest appearance, but was

totally destitute of principle or morality. He was about thirty-five years of age, six feet high, well made and athletic, blue eyes, light brown thin hair, high forehead, even features, but still a down-cast look.

July 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th.—The Committee have each day been engaged in examining prisoners, and have discharged a great many. A greater number of strangers have been seen in this part of the State than has been usual, and several respectable persons, some from Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia, who were exploring the country, have been arrested examined and discharged. No umbrage was taken by any who were so examined, as no honest man was disposed to impede the measures adopted by the community, which the crisis demanded, and which was for the benefit of the whole.

July 15th.—Two brothers (named Earl) were brought in by four gentlemen in the neighborhood of Vicksburg, and surrendered to the guard. This evening there were few persons in the town, most having retired to their homes. A small party getting possession of one of the Earls, and with the view of compelling him to acknowledge himself guilty and to criminate others, inhumanly tortured him in the most diabolical and savage manner. The unfortunate prisoner that night hung himself with his handkerchief. This unwarrantable and shameful act was condemned by the Committee and every respectable citizen. The other Earl was arraigned before the Committee the next day, was found guilty and sentenced to be executed. Several days after my departure, Earl confessed his guilt, and criminated his brother.

The summary mode adopted by the citizens of Mississippi, to relieve themselves from the awful attempt lately made upon their peace and welfare, is not as readily admitted to be as necessary as a perfect knowledge of their real and defensive situation would prove; and the necessity may more likely be comprehended at the present crisis among the whole of the slaveholding States than any observations to elucidate them. I will only refer to the fact, that the black population there, far outnumbers that of the white. That they have no organized militia. That the country has been overrun by adventurers of all denominations, and that the efforts of justice to drag to punishment, by the civil process, the marauders that have infested her territory, have been despised and derided.

Some excesses have been committed, and will, in all communities, but it makes the virtuous part of the community not less justifiable on that account.

It is only necessary to visit and become acquainted with the Mississippians, to be thoroughly of the opinion that they are as enterprising, intelligent, generous, magnanimous and chivalric, as any within the limits of the United States.

From the Mayville (Ky.) Eagle, July 30.

It will be seen, by the following letter, that a young man formerly of Mayville, and the son of our respected fellow-citizen, Mr. Thomas M. Donovan, has become the victim of the excitement in Mississippi. Of his guilt or innocence, we have no means of determining, farther than his asseverations of innocence disclosed in the following extracts from a letter to his wife, which I have handed to us for publication:

LIVINGSTON, 7th July, 1835.

"I write to inform you that this is the last you may ever expect to receive or hear from me. I am doomed to die on to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, on a charge of having been concerned in a negro insurrection in this state, among many other whites. But I can say what few can say, that I can meet my God innocently. By the false accusations of both black and white, and some particularly who have come forward and sworn falsely to my prejudice, I have been condemned unjustly by their oaths. * * Now I must close by saying, before my great Maker and Judge, that I go into his presence as innocent of this charge as when I was born. I feel perfectly reconciled when the hour comes, both to face my accuser and my Eternal Judge. * * I must bid you a final farewell, hoping that the God of the widow and the fatherless will give you grace to bear this most awful sentence. * * And now, may the Lord be with you henceforth and forever. * * Farewell! farewell!

"P. S. I was arrested on Friday the 3d, tried to-day, the 7th, and to-morrow * * * The excitement is so great we are not tried by a regular jury, but by a committee of planters appointed for the purpose, who have not time to wait on any person for evidence. There are now seven or eight prisoners to be tried immediately, and they are bringing in others continually. There is one to be executed with me. Negroes are hung on the plantations. Two white men preceded me."

It is added in another hand-writing—"Seen by the Committee."

From the New Haven Herald.
The Case of Abbe Dean.

Messrs. Editors,

In answer to the inquiry of "Justice" in your paper of yesterday, I would state that the citizen of Connecticut alluded to at the meeting on Wednesday, as having been tried and executed by a self constituted Committee, without the intervention of Judge or Jury, was Abbe Dean, son of Thompson, in the county of Windham, son of a highly respectable inhabitant of that town. He is said to have been a young man of excellent character, and a class leader, if I mistake not, in the Methodist Church, of which his father has been a worthy member. He was hung at Livingston, Madison County, Mississippi, (not Tennessee,) on the 8th of July last. A letter from the Lexington Reporter of the 25th, thus briefly describes his fate: "To-day Abbe Dean was tried, and will be hung to-morrow at 12 o'clock. Another man from Kentucky was also tried, condemned, and will be hanged with Dean. His name is Donovan, from Mayville. The course pursued by the committee at Livingston has been approved by other counties, who have sent deputations to that place in order to learn their proceedings, and adopt the same mode!" Another letter from Canton Grove, Miss., dated July the 9th, speaking of the terrible proceedings of the Livingston Committee, states, that Dean was hung on the day preceding. These men were executed as Abolitionists, and on a charge, as stated by Donovan, of having been concerned in a negro insurrection in that state. They both died protesting their innocence, and as it is now generally believed, even in the vicinity where these atrocities were committed, were the victims of a causeless and unfounded excitement!

Expediency.

The following just and eloquent discrimination between the expediency of the Bible and of the world, is from Dr. Cooke of Ireland.

1.—When we exhort the Churches against the doctrine of expediency, we require, as in the former case, to distinguish between the expediency of the Bible, and the expediency of the world. Our Saviour tells us, John xvii, 7, "I tell you the truth: it is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come; but if I depart, I will send him unto you."

2.—The expediency of the Bible is the adop-

tion of good and lawful means for the attainment of good and lawful ends.—the expediency of the world is the sacrifice of eternal principle upon the altar of temporary convenience. It is the surrender of future safety, in barter for present repose; it is the infatuated pilot that puts the vessel before the wind, and escapes the buffets of the storm but by running upon the lee shore and the rocks. The expediency of the Bible is guided by a sense of duty; the expediency of the world by calculation of interest. The expediency of the Bible is guided by what God hath commanded; the expediency of the world by what men may think and say. The expediency of the Bible to bring man up to the standard of heaven; the expediency of the world is to lower it to the stature of men.

3.—This worldly expediency is very wise, and deathless in cunning devices. It setteth up a golden idol; and, stunning us with the full concert of popular opinions—like the emperor of Babylon, with the instruments of music—it commandeth us to fall down and worship. This worldly expediency is, moreover, very cruel; and, if any neglect or refusal to fall down before its idol, it casteth him into the fiery furnace of misrepresentation, calumny, and reproach; and if he escape unscathed in reputation, in peace, and in temper, it is only because the Son of Man hath descended with him into the flame, and protected him, by his companionship, from the fierceness of the devouring element. Take warning, ye people of God, against the devices, and the promises, and the flatteries, of this truckling and tame serving expediency. Hold fast by principle; follow hard after duty; and leave even to him who rules the armies of Heaven, and turneth the hearts of men as the rivers of water in the valleys.

From Dr. Franklin's Works.
On the Slave Trade.

Reading in the newspapers the speech of Mr. Jackson in Congress, against meddling with the affair of slavery, or attempting to mend the condition of slaves, it put me in mind of a similar speech, made at one hundred years since, by Sidi Mahomet Ibrahim, a member of the divan of Algiers, which may be seen in Martin's account of his consulship, 1687. It was against granting the petition of the sect called Erika, or Purists, who prayed for the abolition of piracy and slavery, as being unjust.—Mr. Jackson does not quote it; perhaps he has not seen it. If, therefore, some of its reasonings are to be found in his eloquent speech, it may not only show that men's interests operate, and are operated on, with surprising similarity, in all countries and climates, whenever they are under similar circumstances. The African speech, as translated, is as follows:

"Ali Bismillah, &c., God is great, and Mahomet is his prophet.

"Have these Erika considered the consequences of granting their petition? If we cease our cruises against the Christians, how shall we be furnished with the commodities their countries produce, and which are so necessary for us? If we forbear to make slaves of their people, who are in this hot climate, are to cultivate our lands? Who are to perform the common labours of our city, and of our families? Must we not be then our own slaves? And is there not more compassion and more favor due to us than to those Christian dogs? We have now above fifty thousand slaves in and near Algiers. This number, if not kept up by fresh supplies, will soon diminish, and be gradually annihilated.

"If, then, we cease taking and plundering the infidels' ships, and making slaves of the seamen and passengers, our lands will become of no value, for want of cultivation; the rents of houses in the city will sink one half; and the revenues of government, arising from the share of prizes, must be totally destroyed. And for what? To gratify the whim of a whimsical sect, who would have us not only forbear making more slaves, but even manumit those we have. But who is to indemnify their masters for the loss? Will the state do it? Is our treasury sufficient? Will the Erika do it? Can they do it? Or would they, to do what they think justice to the slaves, do a greater injustice to the owners? And if we set our slaves free, what is to be done with them? Few of them will return to their native countries; they know too well the greater hardships they must there be subject to. They will not embrace our holy religion: they will not adopt our manners: our people will not pollute themselves by intermarrying with them. Must we maintain slavery for another; and I may say a better: for here they are brought into a land where the sun of Islamism gives forth its light, and shines in full splendor, and they have an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the true doctrine, and thereby save their immortal souls.

"Those who remain at home, have not that happiness. Sending the slaves home, then, would be sending them out of light into darkness.

"I repeat the question, what is to be done with them? I have heard it suggested, that they may be planted in the wilderness, where there is plenty of land for them to subsist on, and where they may flourish as a free state. But they are, I doubt, too little disposed to labor without compulsion, as well as too ignorant to establish good government; and the wild Arabs would soon molest and destroy, or again enslave them. While serving us, we take care to provide them with every thing; and they are well educated with humanity. The laborers in their own countries are, as I am informed, worse fed, lodged, and clothed. The condition of most of them is therefore already mended, and requires no further improvement. Here their lives are in safety. They are not liable to be impressed for soldiers, and forced to cut off another's Christian throat, as in the wars of their own countries.

"If some of the religious mad bigots, who now tease us with their silly petitions, have, in a fit of blind zeal, freed their slaves, it was not generosity, it was not humanity, that moved them to the action; it was from the conscious burden of a load of sins, and hope, from the supposed merits of so good a work, to be excused from damnation. How grossly are they mistaken, in imagining slavery to be disavowed by the Alcoran! Are not the two precepts, to quote no more, Masters, treat your slaves with kindness—Slaves, serve your masters with cheerfulness and fidelity, clear proofs to the contrary! Nor is it the practice of infidels in that sacred book forbidden; since it is well known from it, that God has given the world, and all that it contains, to his faithful Mussulmen, who are to enjoy it of right, as fast as they conquer it.

Let us then hear no more of this detestable proposition, the manumission of Christian slaves, the adoption of which would, by depreciating our lands and houses, and thereby depriving so many good citizens of their properties, create universal discontent, and provoke insurrections, to the endangering of government, and producing general confusion. I have, therefore, no doubt, that this wise council will prefer the comfort and happiness of a whole nation of true believers, to the whim of a few Erika, and dismiss their petition."

The result was, as Martin tells us, that the Divan came to this resolution: "That the doctrine, that the plundering and enslaving the Christians is unjust, is at best problematical; but that it is the interests of this state to continue the practice, is clear; therefore, let the petition be rejected." And it was rejected accordingly.

And since like motives are apt to produce, in the minds of men, like opinions and resolutions, we may not venture to predict, from this account, that the petitions to the parliament of England for abolishing the slave trade, to say nothing of other legislatures, and the debates upon them, will have a similar conclusion.

POETRY.

Our Countrymen in Chains!

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

The despotism which our fathers could not bear in their native country is expiring, and the spirit of justice in her reforming hands has applied the discriminating edge to slavery. Shall the Union of the Free United States, which could not then break the bonds of a king, crackle the bondage which a king is abolishing? Shall a Republic less free than a Monarchy? Shall we, in the vigor and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness, than a kingdom in its age?—Dr. Follen's Address.

Genius of American Spirit! of our free institutions—where art thou? How fallen, oh Lucifer! son of the morning—how art thou fallen from Heaven! Hell from beneath is moved to thee, to meet thee at thy coming! The kings of the earth, to meet thee at thy coming! The kings of the earth tremble before thee, Alas! Alas! art thou become like unto me?—Speech of Rev. S. J. May.

OUR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN IN CHAINS!

SLAVES—in a land of light and law!—
SLAVES—crouching on the very plains
Where rolled the storm of Freedom's war!
A groan from Eutaw's haunted wood—
A wail where Camden's martyrs fell—
By every shrine of patriot blood,
From Moultrie's wall and Jasper's well!

By storied hill and hallowed grove,
By mossy wood and marshy glen,
Whence rang of old the rifle shot,
And burrying about of Marion's men!—
The groan of breaking hearts is there—
The falling lash—the tortor's clank!—
SLAVES—SLAVES are breathing in that air
Which old De Kalb and Sumpter drank!

What, lo!—our countrymen in chains!—
The whip on woman's shrinking flesh!
Our soil yet reddening with the stains,
Caught from her aching, warm and fresh!—
What! mothers from their children riven!—
What God's own image bought and sold!—
AMERICANS to market driven,
And bartered as the brute for gold!

Speak! shall their agony of prayer
Come thrilling to our hearts in vain?
To us—whose fathers scorned to bear
The patriots' name of a chisel;
To us whose boast is loud and long
Of holy liberty and light!—
Say, shall these writhing slaves of wrong
Plead vainly for their plundered Right?

What! shall we send, with lavish breath,
Our sympathies across the wave,
Where manhood on the field of death
Strikes for his freedom, or a grave?
Shall prayers go up—and hymns be sung
For Greece, the Moslem fetter spurning—
And millions hail with pen and tongue
Our light on all her altars burning?

Shall Belgium feel, and gallant France,
By Vendome's pile and Schevenin's walls,
And Poland, gasping on her lance,
The impulse of our cheering cl?—
And shall the SLAVE, beneath our eye,
Clank over our fields his hateful chain?
And to his fettered arm on high,
And groan for freedom's gift, in vain?

Oh, say, shall Prussia's banner be
A refuge for the stricken slave—
And shall the Russian serf go free
By Baikal's lake and Neva's wave;
And shall the wintry-hosomed Dane
Relax the iron hand of pride,
And bid his bondmen cast the chain
From fettered soul and limb, aside?

Shall every flap of England's flag*
Proclaim that all around are free*
From "farthest Ind" to each far crag
That beetles o'er the Western Sea?
And shall we scoff at Europe's kings,
When Freedom's are dim with us,
And round our country's altar clings
The damning shade of Slavery's curse?

Go—let us ask of Constantine
To loose his grasp on Poland's throat—
And beg the lord of Mahmoud's line
To spare the struggling Sultan.
Will not the scorching answer come
From turbaned Turk, and fiery Russ?—
"Go, loose your fettered slaves at home,
Then turn and ask the like of us!"

Just God! and shall we calmly rest,
The Christian's scorn—the heathen's mirth—
Content to live the lingering jest
And by-word of a mocking earth?
Shall our own glorious land retain
That curse which Europe seems to bear?
Shall our own brethren drag the chain
Which not even Russia's menials wear?

Up, then, in Freedom's many parts,
From gray-beard old to fiery youth,
And on the nation's naked heart
Scatter the living coals of Truth,
Up, while ye slumber, deeper yet
The shadow of our fame is growing—
Up, while ye pause, our sun may set
In blood, around our altars flowing!

Oh, rouse ye—ere the storm comes forth!—
The gathered wrath of God and man—
Like that which wasted Egypt's earth,
When hell and fire above it ran
Hear ye no warnings in the air?
Feel ye no earthquake underneath?
Up—up—why will ye slumber where
The sleeper only wakes in death?

Up now for Freedom!—not in strife
Like that which your fathers saw,
The awful waste of human life—
The glory and the guilt of war:
But break the chain—the yoke remove,
And smite to earth opposition's rod,
With those mild arms of Truth and Love,
Made mighty through the living God!

From let the shrine of Moloch sink,
And leave no traces where it stood,
Nor longer let its idle drink
His daily cup of human blood:
But rear another altar there,
To truth and love and mercy given,
And freed the gift and freedom's prayer
Shall call an answer down from Heaven!

He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death. Exod. xxi. 16.

* England had 800,000 Slaves, and she has made them FREE. America has 2,500,000, and she HOLDS THEM FAST!!!

Spirit of 1793.

BY WARNER MIFFLIN'S EXPOSTULATION.

Mr. Editor.—The enclosed "expostulation," was written by Mr. Warner Mifflin, of Maryland, one of the "fanatics" of the last century. He was once a slave-holder; but, like the venerable Moses Brown, of Providence, having been convinced of the sinfulness of slavery, he not only gave freedom to all his slaves, but paid them wages in full for their services during the time they were in his employ. In this manner he expressed his belief in the doctrine of "compensation." On the 26th of November, 1791, he sent a petition to the President and the members of Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia, praying for the abolition of slavery in the United States. This petition was presented by Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts. Mr. Steele moved that the Clerk of the House be directed to return

the memorial, and also that the *city thereof* on the journal be expunged. In support of this motion, speeches were made by Steele, Smith, of S. C., and Dayton. The motion to expunge was, however, withdrawn, and the motion to return the memorial to the author, carried unanimously. This occasioned the following "expostulation," which many of your readers would be pleased to see again in print.

Yours, truly,

J. COFFIN.

A serious Expostulation with the Members of the House of Representatives of the United States.

In the American Daily Advertiser, and other public papers, are inserted, with the debates of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 28th of November last, some

ready began with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous, and totally unworthy of the head of a civilized nation. He has excited domestic insurrection among us."

And here I think it may be proper to mention, that under permission of Divine Providence, the measure which both Britons and Americans had long dealt to the natives of Africa, they were in like manner suffered reciprocally to mete out to each other, by burning towns, &c., capturing their inhabitants, stowing them into goals and prison ships, to linger under agonizing pains unto cruel death; at this stage of affairs, Congress resolve, at different times, on public fasting and prayers, wherefore they acknowledge the superintendence of an all-wise Providence, and the obligations our nation was under to refrain from its sins, and to implore his merciful interposition, to remove those calamities from the land, and avert those desolating judgments with which we were threatened. See Journal, June 12, 1775, and March, 1776.

In a pamphlet, entitled "Observations on the American Revolution," published by order of Congress, in 1779, the following sentiments are declared to the world, viz:

"The great principle (of government) is, and ever will remain in force, that *men are by nature free*; as accountable to him that made them, they must be so; and so long as we have any idea of divine justice, we must associate that of human freedom. Whether men can part with their liberty, is among the questions which have exercised the ablest writers; but it is concluded on this, that the right to be free can never be alienated—still less is it practicable for one generation to mortgage the privileges of another."

Having believed it my religious duty to address that memorial to Congress, and that in so doing I was really influenced by the catholic principle of universal good will to men, and sincerely desirous of promoting that excellent harmony a solid union which is founded on the solid basis of solid

liberty and common right, I may acknowledge it is far from being a matter of indifference to me to find, in the above-cited publication, so little regard paid to this great fundamental of the public weal, by men chosen to entrusted to fill a station so very important, who ought and may be supposed, on a subject of so interesting and extensive concernment, to speak their real sentiments unbiased by any sinister purpose. I

have been, therefore, led, I trust, by the same disinterested and Christian motives which induced me to make the application in question, to enter into a close self-examination and re-consideration of the tenor of my said memorial, lest through an unguarded warmth of zeal I might have given occasion to those not well affected to that divine precept and perfect rule of universal equity, enjoined by the highest authority,

"whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them," to stamp the righteous and liberal aim of my memorial with the opprobrious stigma of fanaticism; and as far as I have been capable of an impartial scrutiny, I do not find anything therein contained more justly meriting so invidious a censure than what may be found in divers publications of Congress on the same subject; some of which I have thought proper to select and bring into view, beginning with the following remarkable language of the association entered into, the 20th of October, 1776.

"And, therefore, do we for ourselves, and the inhabitants of the several colonies whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the same ties of virtue, honor, and love of country, as follows:

2d Article. "We will neither import nor purchase any slaves imported after the first day of

December next, after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and we will neither

be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufac-

tures to those who are concerned in it."

8th Article. "And will disownenance and

discourage every species of extravagance and

dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all

kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of

shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments."

To the inhabitants of the Colonies.

"In every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or of one State to another, duty to Almighty God, the maker of all, requires that a true and impartial judgment be formed of the measures tending to such opposition, and of the causes by which it has been provoked, or can in any degree be justified, that neither affection on the one hand, nor resentment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong bias to reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of circumstances, and to settle the public conduct on the solid foundations of wisdom and justice. From counsels thus tempered arise the purest hopes of the divine favor, the firmest encouragement to the parties engaged, and the strongest recommendations of their cause to the rest of mankind," &c.

Address to the inhabitants of Canada.

May 29, 1735.

"When hardy attempts are made to deprive men of rights bestowed by the Almighty, when avenues are cut through the most solemn compacts for the admission of despotism."

Declaration, July 6, 1775, of the causes and necessities of "taking up arms."

"If it were possible for men who exercise their reason, to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and unbounded power over others, marked out by infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body."

"Put a reverence for our great Creator, for the principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The Legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate desire for power," &c.

Second Address to the people of England.

July 8, 1775.

"Britons can never become the instruments of oppression till they loose the spirit of freedom."

Address to Ireland, July 28, 1775.

"Comelled to behold thousands of our countrymen imprisoned, and men, women, and children involved in promiscuous misery, when we find all faith at an end, and sacred treaties turned into tricks of State; when we perceive our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames."

And in the Declaration of Independence is inserted, respecting the King, as follows:

"He has plundered our seas, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, al-

"Did not Virginia and Maryland consider this to be

"perpetrated, by their Assemblies passing laws accordingly?"

"So may the Africans say."

et did when he was ordered to "cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins." And here I think I can show that our nation is revolving from the law of God, the law of reason and humanity, and the just principles of government, and with rapid strides establishing tyranny and oppression; to prove which, I need do no more than oppose the present conduct of the nation, to that part of it which I have now brought to your view, from the former journals of Congress, and then mention the *suction* the African slave-trade has at this time from the *whole* Government; in proof of which I may refer to the condition on which Congress accepted the cession of the western territory of North Carolina, viz: *That no regulation made, or to be made, shall tend to emancipate slaves!*

I am concerned that the leaders of the people may not cause them to err, or strengthen them in error; the plea now, is by state legislators, as well as other classes of citizens, and even those abandoned dealers in the persons of men, that Congress authorizes the traffic, as I myself now believe you virtually do.

If your disapprobation of this trade, as a body, was publicly known to be sincere, I believe it would have a good effect; and if you are so, it is my judgment the people have a right to know and expect it from you. I am persuaded, nine-tenths of the citizens of the United States reprobate the African trade, and consider every slave imported an injury to the public; and that they reprobate confidence in your wisdom as guardians of the nation, to prevent its injury; and that herein you betray the trust reposed in you, which is indeed a great and weighty trust, even to do that which of right ought to be done by the nation; therefore it requires, on this very important subject, your deep and serious consideration, what you can do, so as to obtain the favor of Divine Providence in this land, which I do indeed believe will be marked with something very different, if such an inhuman traffic is continued.

Humanine petitions have been presented to exhibit Congress benevolent feelings for the sufferings of our fellow-citizens under cruel bondage to the Turks and Algerines, and that the national power and influence might be exerted for their relief; with this virtuous application I unite, but lament that any of my countrymen, who are distinguished as men eminently qualified for public stations, should be so enslaved by illiberal prejudice as to treat with contempt a like solicitude for another class of men still more grievously oppressed.

I profess freely, and am willing my profession was known over the world, that *I feel the calls of humanity as strong toward an African in America, as an American in Algiers, both being my brethren; especially as I am informed the Algiers treat their slave with more humanity*; and I believe the sin of oppression on the part of the American is greatest in the sight of the Father of the family of mankind.

I hope some will excuse my inserting, in this apologetic expositation, a few texts of Scripture as they revile—I trust there are some of our rulers who yet believe in the authenticity of the holy Scriptures; what revives now, is the declaration of our Lord, Matt. 25th chap. and 41st verse: "Then shall he say also to them on the left hand, depart from me, ye cursed." &c. They also shall answer him, saying—"When saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?" His answer then you may read, "Inasmuch as you did it not to the least of these, ye did it not to me."

That I may not be thought to trespass on your patience on this monotonous subject, after repeating my special request, that you would without delay exert your power and influence to frustrate the avaricious purpose of those mercenaries, who are perhaps now on their voyage from Liverpool to Africa, to bring to some of the southern State cargoes of innocent human beings into cruel, unconditional bondage; (the grounds I have for this apprehension, are, I believe, not unknown to some among you) I will draw toward a conclusion, with a quotation from the Address of Congress, to the Assembly of Jamaica, dated 26th July, 1775.

"We receive uncommon pleasure from observing the principles of our righteous opposition distinguished by your approbation; we feel the warmest gratitude for your pathetic mediation in our behalf with the crown—but are you to blame? mournful experience tells us that petitions are often rejected, while the sentiments and conduct of the petitioners entitle what they offer to a happier fate."

That wisdom from above may be mercifully vouchsafed to direct the council of America, that this extensive and rising republic may be exalted by righteousness, and not overthrown by pride, oppression, and forgetfulness of the right

Ruler and dread of nations, is the prayer of an enthusiast, in a pure and uncorrupted sense, and who am both yours individually, and my country's real friend,

WARNER MIFFLIN.

Kent county, State of Delaware, &

2d of 1st mo., 1773. &

ancient

and other respects, as much as to white children; hereby expressly prohibiting myself and my heirs from assuming any further power over, or property in her. And as prudent men lay up in times of health and strength, so much of their earnings as is over and above their needful expenses for clothing, &c., so it is my direction and advice to you, that you deposit in my hands, such a part of your wages as is not from time to time wanted, taking my receipt therefor, to put to interest and to apply it for your support, when through sickness or otherwise, you may be unable to support yourselves; or to be applied to the use of your children (if free,) and if not, to the purchasing their freedom; and if not wanted for these uses, to be given in your wills, to such persons, or for such uses, as you may think proper. And for your encouragement to such sober prudence, and industry, I hereby give to the first six named, (the other three having good trades,) the use of one acre of land, as marked off on my farm, as long as you improve it to good purpose. I now no longer consider you as slaves, nor myself as your master, but your friend; and so long as you behave well, may you expect my further countenance, support and assistance. And as you will consider this an instrument of extending your liberty, so I hope you will always remember and practice this my earnest desire and advice that accompanies it, that you use not the liberty hereby granted to you, to licentiousness, nor take occasion or opportunity thereby to go into or practice the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eye, or pride on any occasion or temptation; but be more cautious than heretofore, and with love serve one another and all men, but as fearing and reverencing that Holy God who sees all the secret actions of men; and receive your liberty with a humble sense of its being a favor from the Great King of heaven and earth, who through his light that shines upon the consciences of all men, black as well as white, and thereby sheweth us what is good, and that the Lord's requiring of each of us to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God, is the cause of this my duty to you; be therefore watchful and attentive to that divine teaching in your own minds that convinces you of sin; and as you duly obey its enlightenings and teachings, it will not only cause you to avoid open profaneness and wickedness, as stealing, lying, swearing, drinking, lust after women, frolicking, and the like sinful courses, but will teach you, and lead you into all that is necessary for you to know, as your duty to the Great Master of all men; for he said, respecting mankind universally, "I will put my law into their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and they shall know me